

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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Broad Significance Noted in Landslide

New Deal Victory Likened to Popular Upheavals in Time of Jefferson and Jackson

FUTURE COURSE UNCERTAIN

Next Four Years Will Be Crucial in Determining Economic and Social Development of Nation

The presidential election of 1936 may go down in history as one of the most interesting and significant in American experience. We do not know at this time just how significant it will turn out to be, because we do not know how the Democrats will use their victory. We do not know what President Roosevelt will do; what the items of his program will be. We do not know whether the defeat administered to the Republicans will turn out to have been a knockout blow or merely a temporary setback. The best we can do is to speculate about it.

But first let us review the election results. Here they are in summary: President Roosevelt received approximately 27,000,000 votes to Governor Landon's 17,000,000. Of the major party vote, this gives the President a lead of 60 per cent. It means that six voters out of every 10 were for him. This popular majority is not as great as that which Warren G. Harding received over Cox in 1920. But it is overwhelming. Because of the fact that the Democratic strength was spread quite evenly over the whole nation, 46 states out of the 48, all but Maine and Vermont, went for President Roosevelt, giving him a majority in the electoral college of 523. This breaks a record of 116 years. Not since James Monroe was re-elected practically without opposition has any president received such a tremendous electoral vote.

Landslide Victory

While the President led his ticket almost everywhere, the sweep of the Democratic victory was so great that the majorities in Congress are almost without precedent. Not since 1869 has the Senate been so completely in the hands of one party. There will be 75 Democrats in the next Senate, 17 Republicans, two Farmer-Laborites, one Progressive, and one Independent. Nor does this tell quite the whole story, because a number of those classed as Republicans are more nearly in sympathy with the President than with the predominant wing of the Republicans. This is certainly true of Senator Johnson of California, Senator Nye of North Dakota, Senator Norbeck of South Dakota. Senators Capper of Kansas, McNary of Oregon, and Borah of Idaho have supported the New Deal rather more than they have opposed it. There will be only about 10 men in the Senate who belong definitely to the conservative wing of the Republican party.

In the House of Representatives, the Democratic majority is greater than any majority has been since 1855. There will be 334 Democrats, 89 Republicans, and a handful each of Progressives and Farmer-Laborites. The Democrats have 37 governors.

This Democratic victory is the more significant because it is the fourth in a row. They won the House of Representatives by a slender margin of one vote in 1930.

(Concluded on page 8)



FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

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"A Grand and Awful Time"

We reprint below an interpretation of the national election and its meaning from the pen of William Allen White, dean of American editors. Mr. White is a progressive Republican and supported the candidacy of Governor Landon. The day after the election the following editorial appeared in his paper, the *Emporia Gazette*:

"It was not a Roosevelt victory. It was not a Landon defeat. It was a revelation of a changed attitude toward government by a vast majority of the American people. Probably the change has been brewing for 40 years. Evidences of it were apparent in the presidential contests of 1896, of 1912, of 1916, of 1928, and of 1932. In 1928, Mr. Hoover was regarded as the great humanitarian, a wise progressive. In 1932, Franklin Roosevelt won the election because of the protest against what, rightly or wrongly, the people considered the conservatism of the Hoover administration. In the United States Senate for nearly 20 years, a Republican majority dammed back the progressive aspirations of the American people. Now and then under the leadership of LaFollette, of Norris, of Capper, of Borah, of Hiram Johnson, these aspirations have been able to wash over the dam. But the dam is gone. The current of the new attitude now is rushing on with more fury than direction—perhaps!

"What, then, is this new attitude which has given color and direction to the last two presidential elections? It is a firm desire on the part of the American people to use government as an agency for human welfare. The general welfare clause of the Preamble to the American Constitution will point the way for a new course in American life. We stand at the crossroads.

"From this November day on we should have a new America, an America in which at least for four years the federal government should be the strong coercive arbitrator between those who have and those who have not. Government has a mandate to curb cunning greed and to balk the antisocial plans of the strong. Under that mandate the American government should move into a position where it will do something about the obvious maladjustment of American income and a more equitable distribution of the products of American industry. The laborer, if Roosevelt makes good, will be worthy of his hire and get it. The man who has invested his life and the work of his hands in an industry should have reason to suppose that he will have as much consideration as the invested dollar in that industry.

"The farmer whose income has been tragically out of line with the returns of capital may reasonably expect the tangles of his problem to be unsnarled. He cannot, un-

(Concluded on page 2, column 4)

Fascist System of Government Studied

Theory Calls for Subordination of Individual Rights to Advancement of National Aims

MANY HANDICAPS ARE SEEN

Suppression of Freedom Prevents Exchange of Ideas Necessary to Evolve Sound Policies

This is the second of three articles on democracy, fascism, and communism. Fascism is the subject treated this week.

What is fascism? How does it differ from democracy? How does it work in practice? The best way to find an answer to these questions is to look in on the countries where fascism prevails to see how it started, what changes it has brought about, and how successful it has been. We naturally turn first to Italy where fascism originated and where it still flourishes.

This new plan of government developed during a period of crisis and national discouragement. There was economic depression in Italy after the close of the war. Foreign trade had fallen off, business was bad, there was a great deal of unemployment. The returning soldiers could not find work. The people were disappointed because Italy did not secure colonies as a result of victory in the war.

Widespread Strikes

After a while the discontent among the workers began to express itself in strikes. In a number of cases they took possession of factories. Property owners were alarmed lest workers should rise up generally as they had done a while before in Russia, that they would seize property and possibly establish Communism throughout the country. In the face of the discontent and unrest, the government took no strong action. Some among the wealthy and middle classes were saying that what Italy needed was a strong leader who would take things in his own hands, establish order, put down the uprisings of the workers, stop the bickering in parliament, give Italy a strong government at home, and insist upon Italian rights abroad—someone who would not only lead the country out of the immediate crisis but also restore the old Roman glory.

Soon bodies of young men, wearing black shirts, were to be seen marching through the streets, engaging sometimes in acts of violence and vandalism; bands of ruffians they seemed to be, and they were commonly considered merely another manifestation of the general unrest. But at the head of these bands, known as "fascists" (the name being derived from the bundle of sticks or fasces which, in Roman times was a symbol of unity), was a man who knew what he wanted. He wanted to organize these fascists into a movement which would take charge of the government. Then he would control it. He would be the master of Italy; the strong man who would suppress disorder and restore the glory that was Rome. This man was Benito Mussolini, an editor, formerly a socialist who had given up his socialistic ideas and now wished to suppress socialism and establish capitalism on a more secure footing, under the guidance of a dictator-ruled state.

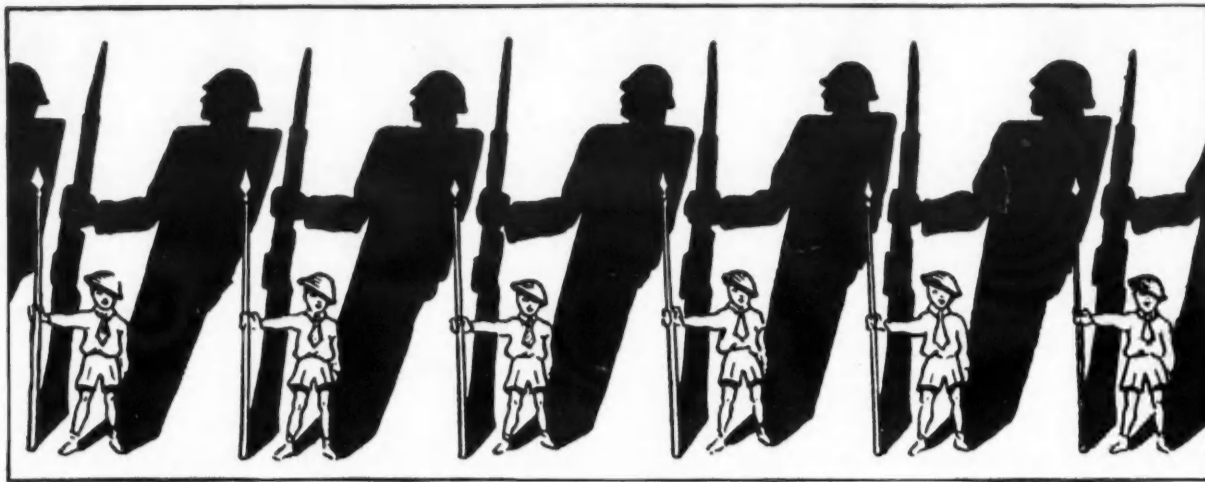
By October 1922, Mussolini and his fascists were ready to strike. Then came the famous march on Rome. The government was seized. Freedom of discussion was

abolished. After a while parliament was made the obedient creature of Mussolini. Many of those who stood out against him were assassinated. Others were silenced. The fascist state was established.

The claim made for fascism was that it supplied a strong government which could and would act, that it did away with the indecisions of a democracy, that it abolished factions, forced capitalists, laborers, farmers, and all the rest to serve the general national interests, and subjected the activities of every citizen to the good and the glory of the state. That is the claim made for fascism everywhere. Fascism is, indeed, government by a self-appointed dictator, or a group, who relies upon his own judgment and not on the will of the people, and who undertakes to subject all private interests to the good of the state.

In practice, the fascist state in Italy suppressed labor unions, and required workers to accept such wages as representatives of the state decreed. Owners of factories and other property have been allowed to keep and manage their enterprises, though they have been subjected to rigid regulation by the state. Fascism, as a matter of fact, seeks to preserve capitalism by suppressing labor uprisings. The fascists have talked a great deal about national planning. They have said that they would decide what should be produced and how the national income should be distributed, but they have not done much in that direction.

The development of fascism in Germany, for the Nazis are fascist in character, was along much the same lines as in Italy. There was economic crisis and national discouragement, movements toward radicalism, fear on the part of capitalists that socialism might gain headway, complaint about the weakness of the government. Then there was a movement calling for the



CASTING SHADOWS

The illustrations on this page are from "Dictatorship," courtesy Foreign Policy Association.

not regained foreign trade. They have not so managed things that their industries could compete more successfully than they had before with foreign industries. They have not raised standards of living. Wages and standards have fallen in both Italy and Germany. The dictators have kept the suffering masses from expressing discontent, but they have not prevented the suffering.

A fascist state works under two almost fatal handicaps in its effort to improve the conditions of its people. In the first place by suppressing freedom of speech, teaching, press, and expression of any kind, it discourages thinking, and thinking is required if wise policies are to be evolved. It further discourages political and scientific and even economic advancement by making it impossible for people to exchange their ideas. They are afraid to speak lest they

more stressful at some time the forces of reaction might move strongly in favor of fascist methods, threatening democracy.

True friends of democracy in the United States are determined, however, to nip in the bud every attempt to substitute force for the democratic method of free discussion and choice, whether the attempts at violence come from extremists who sympathize with fascism, or radicals who prefer a communistic dictatorship. The communists, by the way, and their methods both in Russia and elsewhere, will be discussed next week.

"RUBBER STAMP IDEAS"

It is important, in thinking about the sweeping victory of the Democrats in the last election, to keep from using "rubber stamp ideas," Mr. Walter Lippmann reminds us in a recent article in the *New York Herald-Tribune*. With President Roosevelt reelected by a huge majority, with the Democrats getting overwhelming control of both the Senate and the House of Representatives, and with 37 states under Democratic control, he says, a good many people, both in this country and abroad, are beginning to ask whether "Mr. Roosevelt's supremacy is another manifestation of a world-wide movement away from constitutional government and toward the present leadership of strong men."

There really is no such movement, Mr. Lippmann says. "In spite of the tremendous social crisis of our time, the area of the dictatorships is still confined to a portion of Europe occupied by the nations which were defeated in the war." Constitutional government has survived the difficulties of recent years wherever it was well established, and even in some of the central European states that were carved out of Austria-Hungary. But, Mr. Lippmann concludes, an effective minority opposition is necessary in a democracy; "the only thing that can be said with assurance now is that in a free country one party cannot permanently be the only organized political party." Developments in this country "will be determined by American conditions and the deeply settled political habits of the American people, not according to any pattern devised in lands where both circumstances and traditions are radically unlike our own."

AUTOMOBILE SAVINGS

Better manufacturing and selling methods in the automobile industry saved the American people \$637,000,000 on their

automobiles, compared with 1929, according to figures brought together by the *United States News*. In 1929, Americans bought 3,250,000 cars, and paid \$2,920,500,000 for them, or an average of \$898 for each car. In the year ending October 31, 1936, it is estimated that they bought the same number of cars. But they paid only \$2,283,500,000 for them, the average price being \$702. So the buyers saved \$196 on each car, or \$637,000,000 altogether. This saving, however, was not made by cheapening the quality of the cars. The cars today are more comfortable, safer, easier to drive, and more economical to operate than their predecessors in the same price classes were. The savings have been secured by the development of mass production methods. Because of them, Americans can afford to own 26,000,000 automobiles. And 6,000,000 workers, or one-seventh of all those gainfully employed in this country, are engaged in manufacturing, servicing, and driving these cars and in building and maintaining highways.

SPRINGFIELD SCHOOLS

Because a majority of the voters in Springfield, Ohio, cast their ballots against the small special school tax, the public schools of the city have had to be closed for lack of money. More than 12,000 school children cannot go to school and 381 teachers are without work. All the money that the state contributed to the Springfield schools has been used up and no more borrowing for the schools is possible.

"A GRAND AND AWFUL TIME"

(Concluded from page 1)

aided, bargain collectively as labor can. Government under the New Deal will be his protector, his refuge, and his strength.

"This is a new attitude in American life. We are walking down a strange highway, but we have deliberately chosen to go that path. Our eyes are wide open. We know what we need, and neither courts, nor constitution, nor ancient tradition can hold us here at the turn of the road. We are going on a great new adventure. It is not unlike the turning we took in 1776; again in 1861. Three generations have passed between each revolutionary departure from the straight and narrow paths that had been laid out for us. And now again we have taken a turn and are out in another high emprise. As the old hymn lines it out, it is 'a grand and awful time.'"



THREE FACES OF A DICTATOR

suppression of democracy, for dictatorship, strong government, the restoration of the national power and the former glory. There was also a dynamic leader, Adolf Hitler. Finally, he came into power, established a dictatorship, and proceeded with acts of suppression such as occurred in Italy.

What Are Results?

How have these fascist dictatorships worked? To what extent have they solved the national problems? They have, as a matter of fact, restored and preserved order. They have built up the military forces and in each case made the nation strong in international affairs. But they have not solved the problems of depression better than democracies have done. They have given their unemployed jobs in building war equipment and in public works, but other nations have done that. They have not built up industries. They have

say something which the rulers do not like.

The other handicap is that fascist rulers feel that, in order to keep their power at home, they must stir up ill feeling abroad. They must keep international relations embroiled so that people will think there is an enemy at the gates. If they feel that their rulers are protecting them from dangerous enemies, these rulers will be popular. Such is the theory of dictators. But this very international disturbance and suspicion prevent normal trade relations which are so essential to national prosperity.

Will Fascism Spread?

Is there a probability that fascism will spread? It has taken hold in several European countries which never have practiced democracy to any extent. It has not gained a foothold in the great democracies, though there are small groups in all of them, including the United States, which call for fascism. It is not likely to be adopted in the democracies unless they should be thrown into chaos or deep discouragement by a war or a great depression.

Now and then we see evidence of a fascist spirit in America. We saw it more particularly during the depression. Certain reactionary elements feared the growth of radicalism. The democratic means of dealing with a movement which is not liked is, of course, to argue it down and then vote it down. But sometimes extremists, not trusting the practice of democracy, try to stop the radicals by violence. They sometimes break up radical meetings. That, of course, is a manifestation of the fascist spirit and method. If times should be even



IN A FASCIST COUNTRY THERE IS ONLY ONE LEADER

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AROUND THE WORLD

Spain: Renewed resistance by loyalist forces has apparently failed to stem the Spanish rebel advance upon Madrid, and, according to latest reports, General Franco's warriors have pushed through the capital's suburbs and are fighting the loyalists within the city. There is now scarcely any doubt that the fascist leader will take control of the government within a few days. It is, indeed, possible that he will already have done so by the time this issue reaches its readers.

Aware of the imminent danger, the government has left Madrid, believing that it can carry on its struggle more effectively from Valencia, which is on the eastern coast of Spain and consequently removed from the immediate scene of the conflict. Moreover, this city affords free access to Catalonia, a province which General Franco would have to subdue before his control of Spain could be said to be absolute. The Catalonians have enjoyed a measure of autonomy even under the present democratic régime and it is unlikely that, independent as they are, they will brook any authority from fascist Madrid.

Should Catalonia decide to join forces with what remains of the loyalist government, it could offer stiff resistance to the rebels. According to a *New York Times* dispatch from a correspondent who was in Spain throughout the war and who, upon his arrival in London, said that he had previously not been in a position to present the true state of affairs, the vast majority of Spaniards are bitterly opposed to Franco,



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OFF TO NEW TRIUMPHS

Secretary of State Cordell Hull, whose foreign and trade policies were endorsed by the election results, leaves for Buenos Aires to attend the Pan American Peace Conference and to push the President's good neighbor policy.

whom they regard as the agent of reactionary forces.

Meanwhile, negotiations are being carried on whereby, according to one report, the autonomy of Catalonia will be guaranteed by European powers in return for the former's recognition of General Franco as the legal ruler of Madrid.

Argentina: Seldom have circumstances been so auspicious as those in which representatives of the 21 American republics will gather at Buenos Aires, on December 1, for the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. It is not alone that our "good neighbor" policy of the past three years has convinced Latin-America of this country's sincerity. It is also because, viewing the mutual hatreds and distrust that keep Europe in constant fear of war, the nations on this hemisphere are more determined than ever that similar conditions shall not take root here.

Although it is not yet certain, it is ex-



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THE SWISS PREPARE TO RESIST INVASION

Fearing that in a new war their country will be treated as Belgium was in 1914, the Swiss are increasing the size of their army and are training men in the use of new weapons.

pected that President Roosevelt will journey to South America to address the opening session. The conference was proposed by him last spring, and it is felt that his prestige, enhanced immensely by his reelection, will contribute toward the success of the deliberations. There are many questions to engage the delegates. Doubtless the first will be a method for settling disputes between nations on the two continents and also an agreement to limit the growth of armaments. While it is evident that the United States will not agree to curb her defense program, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who heads the American delegation, will make it clear that our armaments have been increased not as the result of what is taking place here but rather by events in Europe and Asia. As an earnest of his good will, it is expected that he will agree to a new definition of the Monroe Doctrine which will remain the policy not alone of the United States, warning European powers against aggression on this hemisphere, but as the joint policy of all the American republics.

Further problems, certain to be discussed by the statesmen, include revision of tariff regulations, increase of trade between their countries, and the improvement of communication facilities.

Germany: The new National Socialist criminal code, upon which German jurists have worked for three years, has now been completed and is to be presented to Chancellor Hitler and his cabinet for approval. Differing in many respects from our own concept of what is right and wrong, the code lays down three basic principles. Judges must arrive at their verdict by consulting not only the statute books but also the "sense of justice of the German people." This provision gives German judges wide latitude which in our own country would be regarded as government by men rather than by laws. The second principle provides that fines be imposed not according to the severity of the crime but rather according to the income of those fined. Finally, it becomes a serious offense to offer any criticism, whether justified or not, of the state, the Nazi party, or high government officials.

Strikes or lockouts are strictly forbidden. Exposing the past life of an individual is a serious crime, to be severely punished, it making no difference whether the exposed facts are true or not. Dueling as a means of settling disputes of personal honor between individuals will be permitted. It is interesting, in this connection, to recall that before the World War, young Germans took considerable pride in displaying the number of scars they incurred as the result of duels.

It is significant that these regulations apply not only to Germans living at home but also to those in foreign lands, so that

Germans who have committed some act not at all reprehensible in another state may be subject to prosecution when they return home.

Shetland Islands: In the rocky, thin-soiled Shetland Islands, north of Scotland, the people, in their hard struggle for existence, have to use every scrap of food and have to know how to do all kinds of work for themselves. Now that roads are being built across the steep hills and abrupt gullies, permitting the use of motorcars and motorboats, these Shetland Islanders have a somewhat easier time than formerly. But for centuries, they seldom got in touch with the outside world. Communication even between one village and another was very limited. Consequently, the people in each community had to be sufficient unto themselves. They made the spades, plows, and sickles with which they tilled their bits of soil. They quarried the stone for their houses. They took the wool from their sheep, spun it, and wove the clothes they wore. They built the boats used in catching the fish which was an important part of their diet. Altogether, if they wanted anything, they had to make or raise it themselves. And none of them had much to eat; sometimes even the bones of the fish were used in special fish dishes. Living under these conditions, the islanders became a sturdy, self-reliant, aggressively independent people.

President Roosevelt and World Opinion

Although his reelection was not unexpected in foreign capitals, the tremendous majority which President Roosevelt obtained has inspired a considerable amount of comment. Conservative London newspapers, normally given to understatement, were effusive in their superlative praise of President Roosevelt and American democracy; while the French Chamber of Deputies made the unusual gesture of sending him a note of congratulation. It should be noted that this burst of enthusiasm was not directed solely at the President as an individual. What stunned European statesmen was the spectacle of a man who, though opposed by a large part of the press and the financial power of the land, was yet able, without violence or coercion, to command so large a following. And the fact that no one in the United States failed to accept the popular decision as final, appeared to them as a vindication of democracy.

With only slightly less enthusiasm was the election greeted in

Berlin and Rome, though, it is pertinent to emphasize, for reasons distinctly different. Germans saw in the Roosevelt victory a justification of the strong leadership by means of which Hitler has ruled in the past four years. Apologists for Mussolini, on the other hand, pointed out the similarity between those measures undertaken by him and those which President Roosevelt advocated during his first term. Whether these parallels are accurate is of no particular concern; the only thing to be noted is that these commentators failed to point out that whereas the endorsement of Roosevelt came through the unfettered vote of the majority, Hitler and Mussolini continue in power through the suppression of free opinion.

Scotching recurrent rumors of his death, Josef Stalin, Soviet dictator, appeared at a vast Moscow celebration last week, marking the nineteenth anniversary of communist Russia.

Five nations, including the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, and Italy, have signed a pact limiting submarine activity in the event of a future war. The agreement provides that no submarine may sink a merchant vessel unless all the passengers are assured of safety.

Nationalistic agitation in Cuba has resulted in the enactment of labor laws which make it extremely difficult for all but Cuban citizens to obtain employment. Considerable opposition has been voiced to this legislation by American and English firms which have been forced to dismiss expert foreign technicians in their employ.

The Japanese government has brought to a successful close negotiations with Soviet Russia for renewal of a fishing agreement giving Japanese the right, for eight years, to fish in Soviet waters off eastern Siberia. Since most of Japan's seafood is obtained from these waters, the agreement is regarded as an effective gesture toward the improvement of Russo-Japanese relations.

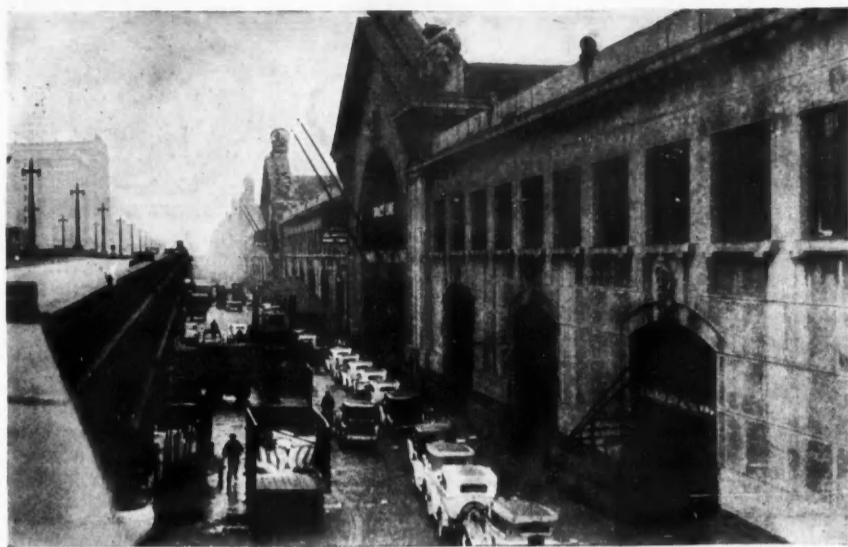
Leaders of the Scottish Nationalist party have addressed a petition to King Edward asking that their demands for self-government be given consideration.

Following his conferences with high officials in Germany, Count Galeazzo Ciano, Italian foreign minister and son-in-law of Mussolini, spent some time in Vienna where he succeeded in increasing his government's influence by agreeing to a trade pact granting distinct advantages to the Austrians.



THE LAST SUPPORT?

—From the Jersey Journal



SEAMEN'S STRIKE REACHES GOTHAM

Many of New York's docks were practically deserted after insurgent union seamen decided on a sympathetic strike to help the cause of western strikers. This section of New York is usually the scene of great activity.

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Workers and Wages

Practically all the steel companies in the United States have announced recently that wages will be increased by an amount which will give the half million steel workers nearly \$50,000,000 more in the next year than they have had in the last. The increases will average about 10 per cent of the present payments, but they are to be as high as 48 per cent for those who now are getting comparatively low pay. This brings the steel industry wages above even the previous record high level of 1929. The number of workers, too, has increased greatly; in September of this year it was 526,700, compared with 419,500 in 1929. Wage payments in September, before these new increases went into effect, were \$65,611,000, compared with \$45,893,000 in the same month a year ago. An especially interesting feature of the agreements between the employers and workers covering these wage increases is the provision that a year from now wages will be increased or decreased automatically if there is a substantial rise or fall in the cost of living. This will likely mean an increase since the steel companies will probably increase prices to care for the wage boost, thus adding to the general cost of living.

This increase in the number of workers and in wages in the steel industry is paralleled in other industries. The Federal Reserve Board's report for November shows that in practically all lines of manufacturing, production is back practically to the 1929 peak level. A good many more are at work now than a year ago, too; the Department of Labor reported that 1,400,000 had been added to the payrolls of the country in the last year, and 6,000,000 since March 1933. In industry, generally, employment still is not quite up to the 1929 level because, the Federal Reserve Board explains, better machines make it possible to turn out more goods with fewer workers. But the record of the steel industry, which is generally taken as a good barometer of what to expect, is interpreted as meaning that the lag in employment will be taken up before long.



THROUGH THE NARROWS
—From the Louisville Courier-Journal

Meanwhile, dividends to the stockholders as well as wages to the workers are rising with striking rapidity.

Freedom of Speech

The national commander of the American Legion, Harry W. Colmery, has issued an appeal to local organizations of the Legion not to violate the Constitution by attempting to curb freedom of speech, press, or assembly. In making this appeal, he has in mind the recent action taken by Legionnaires and others in Terre Haute, Indiana, to keep Earl Browder, Communist presidential candidate, from making a speech in that city. Mr. Colmery, writing in the national Legion magazine, comments as follows:

I feel that it is essential that I should take cognizance of a situation which, if it persists, not only will do immeasurable harm to the Legion but will undermine the faith of the people in the Legion and in our democratic form of government.

The American Legion is opposed to communism. But there is nothing which even remotely implies that we should suspend the Constitution of the United States, violate the principles of our own organization, and use force or violence or intimidation to suppress any group.

Shipping Strike

The strike of seamen and shore workers connected with shipping, which started on October 29, spread, during the following week, to include engineers, machinists, and other groups working in shipbuilding yards and docks in several parts of the country. About 150,000 men, altogether, were taking part. In New York, the International Seamen's Union officials opposed the strike there on the ground that it violated agreements with the shipowners, but the workers organized special strike committees and went on strike anyway. All the efforts of the representatives of the Federal Maritime Commission to get negotiations for a settlement started had failed, and it was suggested that President Roosevelt might personally take a hand. But on November 8 the unions at San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland agreed to handle perishable cargo so as to prevent a food shortage, and also to join in new conferences with the Maritime Commission and the shipowners' representatives.

Independent New Yorkers

While they were voting for president of the United States and governor of the state, and giving big majorities to the Democratic candidates in both cases, the citizens of New York City administered a stinging defeat to the Democratic political machine of the city by voting heavily in favor of a new charter, or basic law, for the city. The machines had worked hard to defeat the adoption of the new charter because they realized that the simplification of the city's government which it is designed to bring about would reduce greatly their chances for getting or keeping control. They also opposed the adoption of a proposed new system of electing the members of what is to be the new city council

The Week in the

What the American People Are Doing

by proportional representation, which will give important minority groups voices in the city's affairs. But the voters were even more strongly in favor of this than of the new charter; the vote for the charter was 950,305 to 596,440, the favorable votes being 61 per cent of the total; that for proportional representation was 920,138 to 536,304, with 63 per cent of all the voters in favor. This is one of the worst defeats that the political machines in New York have ever received. The adoption of the new charter and of the system of proportional representation, which were worked out by an independent committee of distinguished lawyers, should go far in helping to keep the government of New York City honest.

The first elections under the new system will be held next November, and the officers elected then will take office, January 1, 1938, when the new charter also goes into effect. One of the very interesting features of the charter is the provision for a city-planning commission, with authority to handle the development of bridges, streets, and all such matters on the basis of the city as a whole.

Stone and the Court

The illness of Associate Justice Harlan F. Stone of the United States Supreme Court, who wrote the strong dissenting opinion in the AAA case last spring, has raised certain questions about decisions which the Court is expected to hand down in the near future. In Justice Stone's absence, arguments on two important cases—the right of the federal government to lend money for the establishment of municipal power plants and the holding company law—were heard last week. It is not likely that he would vote on either of these cases unless he were able to attend the secret conference which the justices hold on the Saturdays preceding the handing down of decisions. In that case, the Court might easily be split four to four and the decision of the lower courts would be binding until such time as all the justices could render a decision.

California's New Problem

At least 40,000 children, without homes and with only very slender family ties, are now part of the large number of migratory workers in California, according to a correspondent of



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SATISFIED

John N. Garner of Uvalde, Texas, self-effacing vice-president of the United States, and one of the shrewdest politicians in the nation.

the *Christian Science Monitor*. They came to California during the past year, with the thousands of families who moved there from the drought-stricken western states. Many of these families move from place to place in search of work in gathering the crops of fruits, beets, potatoes, beans, celery, and other farm products. They have no houses, or only the roughest sort of sheds; a good many of

them sleep and live in the open fields, using small shelters only for cooking. They are badly nourished, and the children get no proper opportunity for schooling.

The recent strike of the celery and lettuce gatherers in the Salinas Valley, California, which lasted from September 4 to November 2 and ended with the practically complete defeat of the workers, called attention to the problem created by this influx of homeless, jobless, destitute families from the drought



AT THE NEW DOOR

A setting modeled on the famous book stalls of Paris is the new door to the new door.

areas. Crops of various kinds are growing and maturing in different parts of California practically throughout the year. Most of the work of gathering these in the past has been done by single men who moved from place to place. These toughened veterans resented the arrival of the new migratory laborers, who, in their desperate need, were ready to work for almost anything. Trouble developed at several places, including attacks on the newcomers with gas bombs and stones, when the veteran workers tried to drive the newcomers away. But the newcomers have no place to go. And the situation is made more difficult by the fact that so many of them are children who came with their parents.

More Women

The Civil Service Commission reports that the number of women in government service has increased 95 per cent during the last three years. During that same period the number of men government employees has increased only 37 per cent. On June 30 of this year there were four men workers to every woman, compared to six to one three years ago. There are now 158,900 women government employees among the total of 824,259, according to the figures of the Civil Service Commission.

For Better Labor Laws

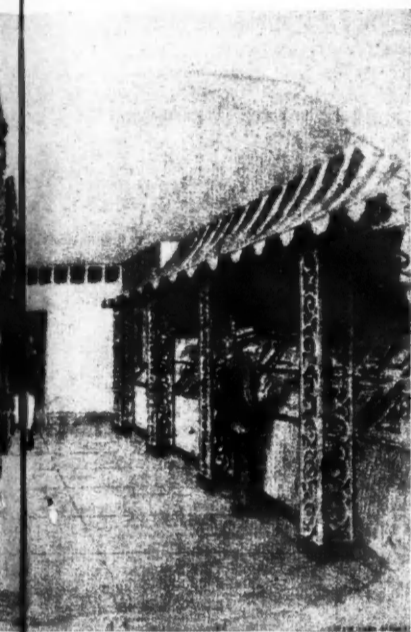
Legislation to bring better labor conditions will be one of the principal aims of the government, President Roosevelt made clear in a statement to the third national conference on labor legislation which met in Washington on November 9. The American people in the last election, he said, declared in unmistakable terms that they wanted the government to go ahead with its efforts to raise labor standards "until working people . . . are assured decent working conditions, including safe and healthful places of work, adequate care and support when incapacitated by reason of accident, industrial disease, unemployment, or old age; reasonably short working hours, adequate incomes, proper housing, and elimination of child labor." He said the federal government would

United States

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

back up state authorities "in making these standards effective" and would help the states when problems assume an interstate or national character."

The administration also has called on American businessmen and industrial leaders to cooperate more actively in the efforts to secure better laws dealing with labor conditions and unfair trade practices. This appeal was made on November 8 by Mr. George L. Berry, the President's industrial coordinator, in an



—Courtesy New York Times

BOOK FAIR
The features of the Book Fair being held in New York.

invitation to the employers of labor to take part in a conference on business and industrial problems which is planned for December.

Meanwhile, the fact that the newly formed labor party secured so many votes in the last election is encouraging some of the labor leaders to say that the organized workers should take a more active part in politics.

Social Security

The first step in getting the information necessary to put the provisions of the Social Security Act to work will be taken today, November 16, when the post office starts mailing the forms prepared by the Social Security Board for the 26,000,000 workers and their employers, to whom the provisions of this act apply. The board has declared emphatically that no questions will be asked about the politics or the religion of those registering under the act.

Women in College

During the last few years there has been a decided change in the number of women who attend college. The ratio between female and male students in colleges and universities has steadily risen. Taking all institutions of higher education combined, there are now three male students for every two female. In several of the states, the number of women enrolled in colleges and universities is greater than the number of men. In professional schools there are three men for every woman, whereas in graduate schools the male students outnumber the women nine to five.

Farm Tenancy

One aspect of the farm problem which sadly needs attention is farm tenancy, which has been increasing rapidly in this country since 1880. Last year, 42 per cent of all farms in this country were operated by tenants. During the campaign both candidates promised to do something for the tenants, and it is almost certain that the second Roosevelt administration will concern itself with the problem. One of the serious aspects of farm tenancy was re-

cently brought out by Bernhard Ostrolenk, who, writing in *The Annalist*, said:

Unlike tenancy in Europe where land occupancy by the tenant is almost permanent and where the tenant benefits from improvements he makes to the farm, the system in the Corn Belt promotes vicious social practices. Contracts between landlords and tenants are made seldom for more than a year; no provision is made to reimburse tenants for improvements. Thus, farmers migrate from one landlord to another. There is no chance for systematic social and educational activity; the tenant cannot make himself part of the community. He is a stranger in the land where he lives.

Father Coughlin

Father Coughlin, the "radio priest" whose fiery oratory has aroused so much criticism and, for a time, so much enthusiastic support, announced on November 7 that he would "go off the air" because the American people had shown in the election that they were not ready to support the program which he advocated and the National Union for Social Justice which he had organized to carry out this program. Last June, he declared, he had said that if the Union's candidate for the presidency, Congressman Lemke, did not poll 9,000,000 votes, he would stop his radio campaign. The smallness of the votes for Lemke, he says now, showed that the Americans did not want the principles carried out which he had advocated, so he is withdrawing from active political campaigning, at least until a new demand for his services arises.

Father Coughlin insists that he is not stopping his radio talks because of pressure from his Catholic superiors. The National Union for Social Justice was founded in 1934, and claimed, at one time, nearly 12,000,000 members. Its various state offices are to be closed and the organization is to be disbanded.

Television Progresses

Plans are rapidly going forward for the development of television on a practical basis. Although the invention which made possible the transmission of images as well as sound has been in the process of perfection for several years, it has not yet reached the stage where it may be widely enjoyed. Officials of the Radio Corporation of America assure us now that it will not be long before we shall be able to enjoy "sound pictures." The principal



STRIKE LEADER

Joseph Curran of New York, who is leading insurgent seamen in a strike of sympathy for western workers. The regular union disapproves of the eastern walkout.

obstacle at the present time is the imperfection of transmitting and receiving equipment.

The first important television broadcast was made in New York City a few days after the election. Some 200 newspaper and magazine writers were invited to the demonstration. The images were transmitted from the spire of the Empire State Building, and were re-



© Acme

THE MORMONS CARE FOR THEIR OWN
The Mormon church is developing a security program to keep all its members off the public relief rolls. The photograph is of a depot in Salt Lake City, Utah, where provisions have been gathered for distribution to the needy.

ceived in the National Broadcasting Company's studios. Only slight defects in the reproductions were noted by those who attended. One of the difficulties to be overcome is the relatively short distances which television can be successfully broadcast. Forty-five miles is about the limit at present. It is highly probable that transmitting stations will have to be established in a number of cities before television can enjoy anything like the popularity now enjoyed by radio.

Book Fair

The crowds that have thronged to see the displays in the Book Fair in New York since it opened on November 4, amply prove that people are interested in books, in the way they are produced, and in the development of the art of writing and printing. Everything to satisfy this interest is there, from ancient clay tablets covered with the scratchings of early Babylonian writing to the very latest machines for setting type, and for printing and binding books. The Fair even has a miniature paper-making machine which transforms soupy pulp into rolls of white paper before the spectators' eyes. Among the books on display, besides examples of the very latest output of the publishers, are some of the earliest printed and others showing how the production of books by printing has developed. The Fair is being made the occasion for talks on literature in its various forms by many of America's distinguished writers. This first of what may be a series of annual Book Fairs was organized by the *New York Times* and the National Association of Book Publishers. It is being held in the International Building of Rockefeller Center.

Heart Disease

More people die in the United States from heart disease than from any other single cause. At present, this disease causes about one-third of all deaths in the country. What is more significant than these figures, however, is the fact that the death rate is rapidly increasing. For example, there were three and a half times as many deaths caused by heart disease in 1935 as in 1930. Since 1910, the increase has been 75 per cent. The principal cause of heart disease is the tension which results from the strain of modern life, according to the United States Public Health Service. Twice as many of the heart disease deaths were caused by this tension in 1934 as in 1932, it is estimated.

The President's Name

Several of our readers have written to us asking how President Roosevelt's name is pronounced. The President himself pronounces it *rose'-velt*, with the accent heavily on the first syllable. Theodore Roosevelt pronounced it slightly differently, the first syllable pronounced the same as the flower, but the second pronounced *velt*. The accent was on the first syllable. The frequently heard pronunciation, *roo'-se-velt*, is considered to be absolutely incorrect.

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Individuals become truly educated when they learn how to use recorded knowledge for the purpose of forming independent judgments.—Charles H. Judd, Professor of Education, University of Chicago

What were those soil conservationists doing when the landslide came?

—St. Louis POST-DISPATCH

A Kansas City youth stole a fur coat to square himself with the girl friend. The least she can do now is bake him a cake with a saw in it.

—Atlanta CONSTITUTION

Somebody has invented a mechanical brain that "does everything but think." How true to nature!

—Lynchburg News

History is not a race between education and disaster. History as we see it unfold today is a race between moral character and disaster.

—Arnaud C. Marts, acting president, Bucknell University

European editors are said to be cutting down on the use of cigars. They might miss out on a couple of crises while they were lighting up.

—Humboldt TIMES

An astrologer announced he sees good times for everyone in the skies. Unfortunately, none of us lives there.

—Cincinnati POST

We will never know how sweet liberty is until we have sold it away in some seizure of hatred and fear.

—Will Durant, philosopher

Still it's not much fun to save all your life for a 'round-the-world cruise and then discover everybody else on the boat is a slogan contest winner.

—JUDGE

A Massachusetts official thinks persons of 65 and over unsafe as drivers, unless they can prove the contrary. It will be hard to spend all that Townsend money, though, without a car.

—Detroit News



BUSINESSMEN SEE DARK CLOUDS AHEAD

—Herblock for N.E.A. Service

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The American Neutrality Policy

IT IS a mistake to assume that wars are the result of any single cause. The interplay of conflicting forces is so great as often to cloud the real issue and bring into the foreground only superficial causes. We know, for example, that the second war with England, the War of 1812, is generally considered to have been caused by the impressment of American seamen and the total disregard by the British of what we considered to be our neutral rights. But there were many other causes, as we now know, not least among which was the desire of the American expansionists, "the War Hawks," to become involved in war with England in order to enable the United States to expand its territory. Likewise, it is impossible to lay to any single cause our being drawn into the World War. And should another armed conflict engulf us, the true causes would be difficult to discern.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

Whatever may have been the cause of the War of 1812, or the World War, those conflicts offer us an excellent opportunity to study a problem of particular concern today. As everyone knows, the possibility of another war in Europe is real, and the danger of our becoming involved is great. The question of how we may avoid entanglement in a future war is one which is now testing the statesmanship of American leaders. Already neutrality legislation has been passed which breaks sharply with past tradition. It is almost certain that the question will loom larger in the future as efforts are made to insure us against war.

Neutrality in 1812

It is important to remember that in the past, one of the bases of American foreign policy has been our insistence upon neutral rights in time of war. During the Napoleonic Wars, George Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality, insisting that as neutrals we had the right to carry on trade with the nations at war, according to the accepted principles of international law. When, as we pointed out last week, both England and France blithely disregarded this principle of freedom of the seas and captured as many American vessels on the high seas as possible, Mr. Jefferson's answer was the Embargo Act, which was intended to exert such strong pressure upon the belligerents as to force them to repeal their hateful orders in council and decrees. We know that this measure failed to accomplish the desired results and that America was drawn into war with England in 1812.

It was during the World War, however, that violation of our so-called neutral rights had a more direct bearing upon our participation in the conflict. From the outbreak of hostilities in the summer of 1914, the Wilson administration was constantly confronted by breaches of international law with regard to freedom of the seas. Both England and Germany were wantonly guilty of interfering with our trade with other neutral nations and with the belligerents. The strain between the United States and England, as a result of violation of our rights, at one time became so great as to threaten war. International law was violated as flagrantly during the World War as it had been a hundred years earlier.

If the United States was drawn into the war on the side of England instead of the opposing side, it was not because England's record was spotless. It was merely that Germany was more ruthless with her submarine warfare; that the natural sympathies of the American people were more on the side of England, and that this sympathy was skillfully played upon by the effective propaganda machines of the Allies; that

America's economic interests were more directly tied up with an Allied victory. Whatever the actual cause of our participation, the fact remains that we did enter the war against Germany and that interference with our trade was one of the forces in that fateful decision.

With the passing of years after the World War, the conviction grew among a large number of people that our traditional policy resulted not in neutrality but in war. Active pressure for a reversal of policy was brought to bear upon Congress as soon as the European crisis became grave, especially at the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian War. A majority of the people apparently felt that it was better to forego the benefits accruing to the nation from trade with belligerent nations than to draw the whole country into a devastating war.

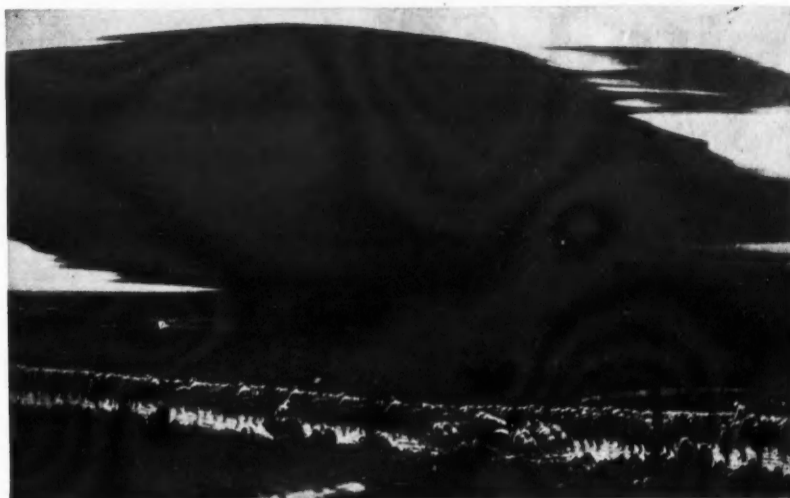
Past Policy Reversed

It was thus in order to prevent a recurrence of the experiences of 1812 and of 1914-1917 that neutrality legislation was rushed through Congress on August 31, 1935. This law was amended and extended on February 29, 1936, and will remain in force until May 1, 1937. Among other things, this legislation compels the president, when war breaks out between two countries, to declare an embargo on arms, munitions, and other implements of war to either of the belligerents. It also forbids the granting of loans by American citizens to nations which are at war. The president is also authorized to refuse passports to American citizens traveling on belligerent ships.

These provisions, it was felt, would remove some of the causes of war, for, it will be remembered, it was just such things that involved us in serious difficulties during the World War. There are, of course, other provisions of the present neutrality legislation. It is highly significant, for example, that President Roosevelt, when applying the law in the case of the war between Italy and Ethiopia, declared that all transactions of American citizens with warring nations would be at the risk of the citizens. In other words, Americans were warned that if they wanted to carry on trade with nations at war, well and good, but that if anything happened to their goods, they need not expect the government to come to their rescue as it had done in the past.

For the present, at least, the United States government has completely discarded its traditional neutrality policy. It has given up the freedom of the seas idea by telling the world that it will not insist upon protecting the trade of its citizens in time of war. So far as the present law is concerned, neutral rights are a thing of the past, and a new approach to the problem of keeping out of war has been made.

Whether the present policy is adequate will never be known until it is actually tested. Since it is only temporary legislation, it is bound to come up for more discussion during the next few months. Moreover, should war actually break out in Europe, there would be strong pressure against the new policy from those who would lose profits that would come from a lucrative trade with the warring nations. American farmers would be tempted by the greatly expanded market abroad, and American manufacturers would desire to profit from war orders. Tremendous efforts would then be made to revert to the traditional policy of using government influence to protect American trade on the high seas in time of war.



SEPTEMBER 13, 1918—SAINT-MIHIEL
From "War Drawings and Etchings," by Kerr Eby.

Among the New Books

War and Why

"Why We Went to War," by Newton D. Baker (New York: Published by Harper & Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations. \$1.50).
"War: Drawings and Etchings," by Kerr Eby (New Haven. Yale University Press. \$2.50).

OBVIOUSLY directed against the Senate investigation of last year into the activities of bankers and munitions makers during the World War, the volume of Newton D. Baker traces American public opinion through the years 1914-1917 and the events which led to our declaration of war against Germany. The author insists that it was the desperate decision of the German high command to renew its submarine warfare which resulted in our joining the Allied forces. There is no basis at all, he maintains, for the charge that munitions makers and bankers were responsible for our decision. Prior to 1914, there was no arms industry of any importance in our country. And not a single banker, Mr. Baker adds, ever suggested to him that we should enter the conflict.

Doubtless, Mr. Baker's simplified thesis is open to question. For one who was a cabinet member, its approach is, upon occasion, distressingly naïve. Yet the reasons for our entrance into the war are today not of so much consequence as the necessity of avoiding it in the future. For this purpose there is poetic justice in placing near Mr. Baker's volume that of Mr. Eby. The latter is an artist and probably has had no concern with the diplomatic niceties of statesmen. But he did have intimate contact, on the battlefield, with the cruelties and horrors of war; and his realistic drawings, in no uncertain manner, convince one that however insistent the pressure and costly

the sacrifice, they are far easier to bear than the actual fighting.

Caravan Trails

"Half the World Is Isfahan," by Caroline Singer and Cyrus LeRoy Baldridge (New York: Oxford University Press. \$5).

ITS title taken from an old proverb, this book excellently records the impressions garnered during a leisurely tour of Iran by Miss Singer and her artist-husband. Their journey was made in the face of persistent difficulties. Frequently, the roads proved to be little better than caravan trails, not discomforting to those astride of camels, but hardly suited to the modern automobile. Competent chauffeurs were rare, and when one did finally appear, it was in the midst of the night. As if this were not enough, they were stopped numberless times by petty officials who inquired into their ancestry, demanded a host of papers and permits, and insisted upon examining intently their passports, although it was doubtful that they could read even their own language.

These obstacles, however, did not deter the travelers from their journey. They went the length of the land, keenly observing the people and their institutions. They found that the government of Iran was encouraging a wave of nationalism; that it has imposed a strict censorship, banning all books of political implication and all foreign newspapers. Miss Singer's account of everyday life in Iran is splendid. Others might well envy her facility of expression and her talent for vivid description.

Good Talk

"The Art of Conversation and How to Apply Its Technique," by Milton Wright (New York: Whittlesey House. \$2.50).

MILTON WRIGHT quite properly deplores the low estate to which present-day conversation has fallen. Rare is the individual who can carry on a conversation that has the proper measure of wit, understanding, and silence. Yet good talk is a priceless asset. Whether it is a job that we seek, an argument we advance, the charm of our personality that we wish to impress upon others, we must be able to chat convincingly so that others will want to listen.

Mr. Wright offers detailed analyses of good and bad conversations and suggests methods of improvement. He has a rather keen understanding of people, their likes, vanities, and their probable reactions under all conditions. It is difficult, however, to say whether the reader, upon completing this book, will become the darling of the drawing rooms. If he is among those who have acquired "personality" through the mails and but 15 minutes a day, it is safe to say that he will derive at least comparable results from this volume.



FROM A DRAWING BY CYRUS LEROY BALDRIDGE IN
"HALF THE WORLD IS ISFAHAN"



What is the importance of the great upsurging of the masses? Does it presage a broadening of our democratic system? Does it endanger our economic structure?

THESE three imaginary students will meet each week on this page to talk things over. The same characters will continue from week to week. We believe that readers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will find it interesting to follow these discussions week by week and thus to become acquainted with the three characters. Needless to say, the views expressed on this page are not to be taken as the opinions of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

John: I know that we decided last week not to talk politics any more for a while, and I don't intend to bring up any strictly political subject, but I would like to see what you think about a certain rather important problem that has grown out of the election. I refer to an interpretation of the election and certain of its results, which I found about a week ago in David Lawrence's column. It appeared in the Washington Star and many other papers. Mr. Lawrence, as you know, is one of the best known and most widely read commentators in the

than those who feel jubilantly confident that all is well and will be well."

Mary: Still I don't understand. What is so serious about all this? Why shouldn't the poor people look out for their own interests, just as wealthy people do? Aren't they Americans? Aren't they a part of the American democracy? If you are implying, or if Mr. Lawrence is implying, that there is danger of class rule simply because poor people are asserting themselves, I should like to ask what you think class rule is. Wouldn't we have class rule if poor people were too ignorant or uninterested to look after themselves, and if they allowed the rich to rule things? We would have class rule in that case—rule by the upper classes. That is what has usually happened in human society and in all nations, but anyone who believes in democracy ought to hope and pray that all the people, including the poor, might take part in government, might look out for themselves, and see to it that the interests of the whole nation are asserted.

John: But that's the trouble. If these poor people without property get it into their heads to run the government, will they serve the interests of all the people? That is a question which Mr. Lawrence was considering, and he quotes in his column from Lord Macaulay, who had rather definite ideas on the subject. Writing in 1857 to an American, he expressed fear that in a democracy such as the United States, the poor people might rise up at some time and insist upon policies that would bring about the ruin of civilization itself. "The day will come," said Macaulay, "when, in the State of New York, a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose the legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, a strict observance of public faith. On the other, is a demagogue ranting about tyranny of capitalists and usurers and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne and to ride in a carriage while thousands of honest people are in want of necessities. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a workingman who hears his children cry for bread?"

Charles: I'll confess that your quotation from Macaulay makes me good and mad. I don't know when I've ever heard anything so undemocratic and snobbish. There are two fallacies in the quotation. One of them is that the representatives of the wealthy who guide society into such a state that multitudes have no breakfast and dinner and the children cry for bread, is a wise statesman, to be trusted. The other assumes that people who are crying for bread are more heedless of the public good than rich men, who are lining their pockets from the labor of the hungry. Macaulay's conception of civilization is a civilization in which there are a few who enjoy luxury, and millions who are hungry but who accept their condition lying down. You talk about destroying civilization. I say that civilization is already destroyed when such things exist.

Mary: And I deny that there are only two choices for the hungry multitudes to make. In America they won't have to choose be-

tween the advocates of an old, decayed, and unjust civilization on the one hand, and demagogues on the other. That was proved in the recent election. There are propertyless multitudes in America today, and they didn't vote for destruction. They wouldn't even vote for extremists like Townsend and Father Coughlin. Those elements were completely wiped out. They chose between two men who had different ideas as to how the masses might best be served under democracy. They chose between two statesmen, Governor Landon and President Roosevelt, and they selected the President. But they aren't even threatening civilization.

Charles: What I object to particularly is the insinuation that people with low incomes are less intelligent politically and less unselfish than people with large incomes. There are too many people in America who have the notion that because a man has made money he is wiser concerning governmental policy than a man who hasn't made money. There is absolutely nothing to that theory. The average workingman knows less about banking than the banker does, but he knows just as much about the ordinary problems of the government which voters are called upon to solve.

John: I can't be quite so complacent as either of you are. In ordinary times, the masses of people are moderate enough, but if we should have another severe depression, I am not so sure how things would go. I am not at all certain that if millions of people were in actual distress and if they had acquired the habit of voting for a government that was promising to do something for them—in that case I am not so sure that they would stand for moderate policies.

Charles: I am not so sure that they should. If the dream of the American democracy is ever realized, we will have a society for all the people of security and opportunity. If we don't have such a society, something is radically wrong, and there should be radical remedies.

John: But if radical remedies are undertaken suddenly in a time of emotion and stress, we are likely to wind up worse off than we have been, instead of better off. Let me quote Macaulay again: "I seriously apprehend that you [meaning the Americans] will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people in a year of scarcity, devour all the seed corn and thus make the next year not of scarcity, but of absolute distress. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stay you."

Mary: Does David Lawrence subscribe to



SHE CAN'T SAY HE DIDN'T OFFER TO HELP

—Darling in N. Y. Herald-Tribune



HERE, MILLIONS DECIDE—IN MOST OF EUROPE, JUST THREE

—Shoemaker in Chicago Daily News

country, and he has raised a question which seems to me very significant and which, because of his very large audience, will probably be widely discussed.

Mary: Go ahead and spring the idea, John. It won't hurt us to get back on at least a semipolitical subject.

John: Mr. Lawrence expresses grave concern about the class division which the election figures reveal. He points to the fact that there are a tremendous number of poor people in the country. There are 10 million persons, he says, with incomes of less than \$1,000 a year; there are eight million more who make between \$1,000 and \$1,500 a year; and another six million whose incomes are between \$1,500 and \$2,000 a year. "Here is a grand total, therefore, of 24 million persons," he says, "many of them married, and they have total incomes of less than \$40 a week and the average is even below that figure."

Charles: What has that got to do with politics, John? What are you driving at?

John: The point is that here are 24 million persons—more than half the number who voted in the recent election. If you add their wives who also are voters, you have a still larger number. Now these people are what may be called the "have-nots," and this is the class upon whom President Roosevelt depended for his great victory. He stirred up the "have-nots," and they have come nearer to voting in a body than ever before. Mr. Lawrence thinks that this is a rather serious matter. "Maybe Mr. Roosevelt himself," he says, "will come to realize it in due time and will join those who feel just a bit apprehensive, rather

any such doctrine as that of Macaulay?

John: No, he merely suggests all this as a possibility. He concludes his column with this paragraph: "I do not agree that America has necessarily reached any such point, but if it is on its way the question can be interposed whether intelligent leadership by reorganization of our political parties can direct and guide the mass movement away from the dangers which the British author prophesied for us."

Charles: Anyone who has confidence in American democracy and who believes in the American people, will feel that this so-called mass movement can take care of itself. The upper classes don't need to assume smugly that they have all the intelligence and that they must "guide the mass movement." The common people themselves, including those with low incomes, can take things into their own hands, and if they do so they can give us a democracy more in line with the American dream of equality of opportunity than we have ever had. They can and will give us something better than the smug and self-satisfied leaders of the wealthy classes can give.

Mary: As usual, we don't seem to have come to any definite conclusions, but I will agree with John that a very interesting and important problem relating to the very nature of democracy and its purposes has been raised. I hope we can go on with a discussion of it some day when we have more time.

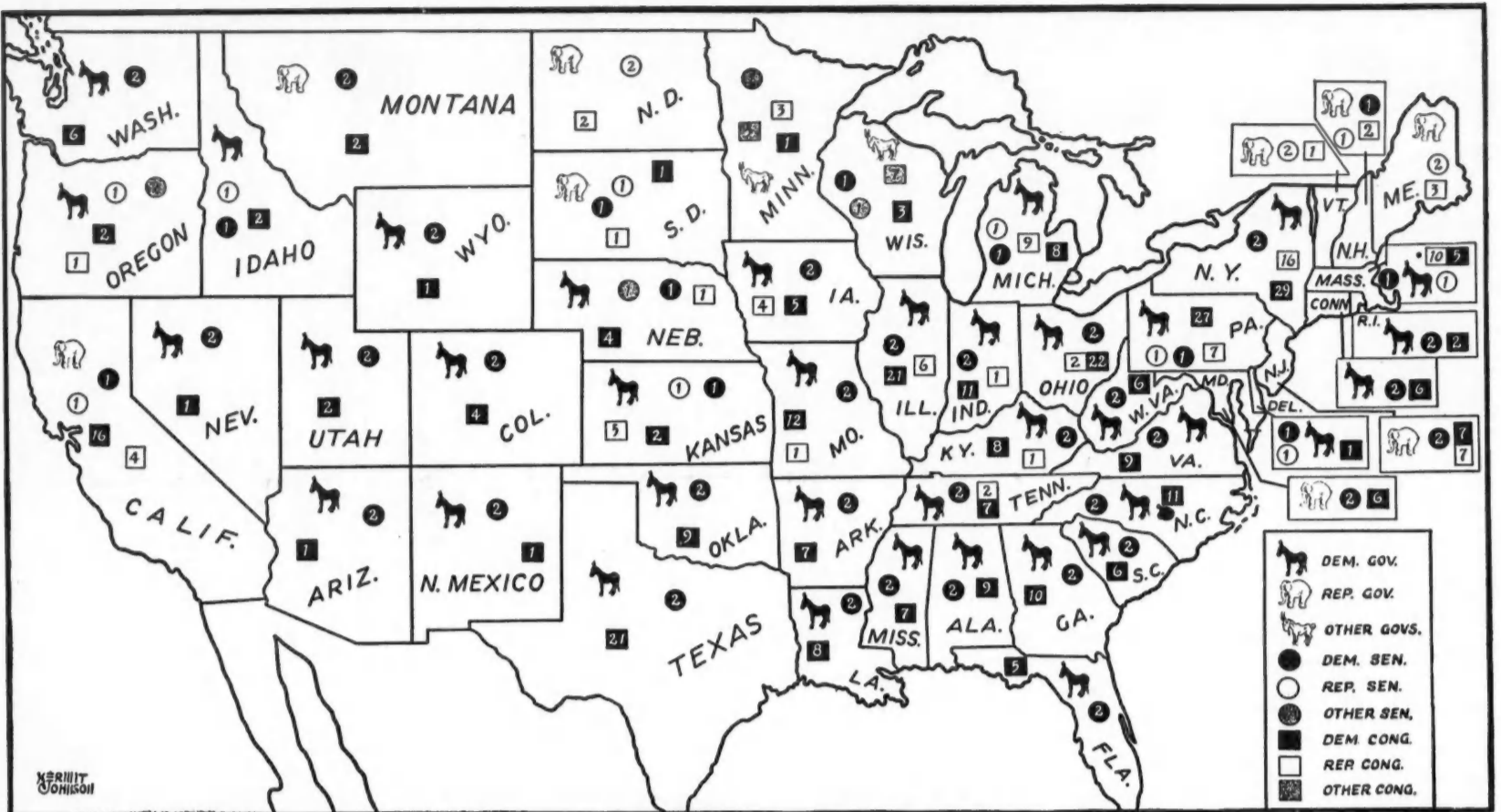
SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. On what basis may one compare the election of 1936 to the elections of 1800 and 1828, which brought Jefferson and Jackson to power?
2. Were those so-called "revolutions" successful in accomplishing the objectives which they had undertaken? What measures do you think the second Roosevelt administration will have to adopt if it is to fulfill the mandate of the people?
3. What, in your opinion, are the prospects for the Republican party? On what important factors is its future fate likely to depend?
4. What are the economic conditions which generally give rise to a strong fascist movement?
5. In the main, would you say that fascism gives greater benefits to workers or to the employers? Why?
6. List what you consider to be the main items on the asset side of the fascist ledger. On the liability side.
7. In what respects is the present neutrality policy of the American government a reversal of our traditional policy?
8. Why is the Buenos Aires meeting of the Pan-American nations considered more important than past meetings of the American nations?
9. What significance do you attach to the decision of the steel and other industries to make wage adjustments?



THE BLIZZARD OF '36

—Ray in Kansas City Star



POLITICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES TODAY

Deep Significance Seen in the Sweeping Roosevelt Reelection

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

At that time, they elected 218 members. In 1932, the number of Democrats in the House was increased to 313. In 1934, it rose to 323, and now it is 334.

Republican Prospects

Do these successive and increasingly smashing defeats indicate that the Republican party is on the way out? Not necessarily so. The Democrats were reduced to a relatively small minority after the war, and yet they have come back to their present position. They did not seem so badly defeated at that time because they retained control of a number of southern states. But the large, heavily populated states of the Northeast, whose votes control elections, have switched completely during recent years and may do so again. From the standpoint of size of the Democratic majority alone it could scarcely be said that the permanent eclipse of the Republican party is indicated.

There are certain factors in the present situation, however, which are fairly serious for Republican prospects. For one thing, their political organization is badly demoralized. When the Democrats were badly beaten in 1928, their candidate for president, Alfred E. Smith, received but 87 votes. They still had a nucleus in the South to build from, and they still had control of a large number of the northern cities. This enabled them to maintain effective local party machines. For local machines or organizations, in order to be kept up efficiently, must be able to reward their leading workers with offices, and if a party is in the minority in the city and state governments as well as the national government, there are no offices to pass around, and it is not easy to keep a party machine intact. Now these machines play a tremendously important part in controlling elections. They see that all the members of their party register and then go to the polls. That counts for more in most campaigns than all the speech-making, all the radio addresses, all the newspaper editorials combined. It is a serious thing, therefore, that the Republican local party machinery nearly everywhere is in bad working order, because almost nowhere do these machines have offices, patronage, and appointments to feed upon.

But the future of the Republican party and the Democratic party as well will depend largely upon the trend of public opinion in the United States. Just now it seems to be strongly liberal. The less well-to-do classes of the population—the workers, the farmers (in many sections), the Negroes, the unemployed—in general, the classes which have shared least well in the national income, have risen up and spoken with a more decisive and commanding voice than has been heard in the United States for a century. There was something somewhat akin to this popular mandate on the part of the common people in 1800 when, under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, the Federalists were turned out of office. There was something approaching it, though differing widely in essentials, in 1828, when Andrew Jackson led the masses to victory. Historians speak of these contests as the "revolutions" of 1800 and of 1828, meaning not that the majorities of those days called for violence or the overthrow of the government, but that they insisted upon a "new deal," upon curbing the powers of the supposedly overprivileged, upon better opportunities for the plain man.

Revolution of 1936

This year we are experiencing a similar revolution. The great overturn four years ago was not revolutionary, using the word in the sense which we have described. It represented a protest against what the government was doing in a time of depression. It represented a yearning for action of some kind which would get the country out of depression. The action of the voters this month is revolutionary, for it sanctions stronger use of the government for the purpose of bringing about a different distribution of wealth and power. It represents a desire among millions of people for government which will act forcefully to prevent great combinations of wealth from exploiting them and which will at the same time do something directly for them, for the farmers, the workers, the unemployed, the underprivileged.

The revolutions of 1800 and of 1828 were unsuccessful in that they had little effect upon the industrial and social conditions within the country. The trends that had been going on continued. There was sound

and fury, but no perceptible alteration in the long-time course which the industrial and social development was taking. No tides were stemmed. No new direction was given to the national life.

No one can tell today whether or not the revolution of 1936 will succeed where the others failed. Its success is not to be determined merely by an observation of the legislation which will be enacted. The President and the Congress may do things which appear dramatic and which are called revolutionary. But if the historian of the future looks back upon the period and sees that as a result of all that has been done wages remain about as they had been, farm income continues to be about the same, the concentration of wealth is unchanged; if the industrial forces go on much as they have been going, with periods of prosperity and "boom," followed by surpluses of goods which the people cannot buy, and if this in turn is followed by depression; if the historian looks back and sees that after all the sound and fury, the country continues to alternate between boom and depression, with lean years ever swallowing up the fat—if all this continues to happen, then the apparent revolution of 1936 will have turned out to be but a futile protest on the part of millions of Americans who were trying vainly to realize an old dream of opportunity and security.

Problems Ahead

The future of the parties will depend in no small part upon the relative success of the administration as it tackles the job of translating into reality the vague hopes and yearnings of the great majority which has returned President Roosevelt to power. Despite the gratifying vote of confidence which he received, and despite the huge legislative majorities at his disposal, a hard road lies before him. It is clearly possible that the Supreme Court may declare the Wagner Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act unconstitutional. If it does, a serious obstacle will have been placed in the way of the attempt to set the government at the job of regulating labor conditions and of dealing with social welfare problems. In that case, will the President give up these major objectives of his administration, or will he call for a constitutional amendment which will clothe the national government with more extensive powers? If he chooses the latter course, will there be a conservative reaction against him? Will majorities now calling for social legislation dwindle into minorities in the face of the attempt to change the Constitution? That is clearly possible,

especially if by that time business and employment conditions are continuing to improve, thus diminishing the pressure for legislative changes. If this reaction should come, the revival of the conservative Republican party may result. If, however, the President succeeds in his program, and if the progressive or liberal tide now running so strongly should turn out to represent a long-time, permanent trend, the Republican party may reenact the tragedy of the Federalists.

More important, of course, than the fate of either the Republican or Democratic party is the future of this liberal tide itself and the part it is to play in the course of American economic and social development. Of one thing the political observer of today may be certain: The four years of the coming administration will be among the most crucial, the most interesting, the most dramatic of the national history.

Immediate Problems

Which course the new Roosevelt administration will take cannot be foreseen at this time. When the President returned to Washington following the election, he immediately began to make new plans. He gave some indication that one of the first problems he would tackle would be the budget, which must be presented to Congress in January, soon after the new session begins.

There are the broader questions of determining the government's course in its relations with private industry and with agriculture. While Mr. Roosevelt was not specific during the campaign on the question whether he would seek to regulate industry as it was regulated under the NRA, he did make it clear that he would strive for minimum wages and maximum hours in industry in order to protect the workers of the nation. He is expected to confer with business leaders and labor leaders in order to work out some scheme of cooperation to provide greater security and stability.

These are but a few of the questions facing Mr. Roosevelt as he prepares to embark upon his second term. Strong pressure from all sides will be brought to bear upon him. Some will urge him to veer sharply to the conservative side, now that recovery seems to be well on its way. Others will insist that he follow a liberal course, advocating and launching such reforms as they think necessary to iron out the injustices of the economic system. But the decision will rest largely with the President, and upon his decision will depend much that happens during the next four years and perhaps for many years to come.